

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 SAM-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 /061 W

----- 076538

O R 252045Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1709

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, GW, WB

SUBJECT: BUNDESTAG ENDORSES FRG SIGNATURE OF CSCE

1. SUMMARY: IN A LIVELY DEBATE INVOLVING LEADING GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION FIGURES AND LASTING UNTIL 7:00 P.M., THE BUNDESTAG ENDORSED BY A VOTE OF 240-162 THE SIGNATURE BY THE FRG OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT AT HELSINKI. GENSCHER, LEADING SPEAKER FOR THE GOVERNMENT ANTICIPATED OPPOSITION ATTACKS BY STATING THAT ALL STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE CONFERENCE--ESPECIALLY THE US, UK, FRANCE AND USSR--AGREED THAT THE RESULTS OF CSCE EXTEND THROUGHOUT EUROPE, MEANING BERLIN. SCHMIDT EMPHASIZED HOW CSCE ENHANCES THE INTEGRATION OF THE FRG INTO THE WEST AND AVOIDS ISOLATION. BRANDT STRESSED THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF CSCE IN HUMAN CONTACTS,

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TRADE AND ON OTHER EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS. OPPOSITION

BROKE NO NEW GROUND. ITS ATTACK CENTERED ON BERLIN-- CLAIMING THAT CSCE HAS TURNED THE CITY INTO A GRAY ZONE RATHER THAN A TOUCH STONE OF DETENTE. CLAIMING CSCE DOES NOTHING FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE OR THE PEOPLE OF THE USSR AND EE, OPPOSITION SAID IT CONFIRMS SOVIET POSITION IN EAST AND AFFORDS SOVIET UNION OPPORTUNITIES IN WEST, SUCH AS PORTUGAL. OUTCOME OF DEBATE SURPRISED NO ONE.

2. MAIN POINTS OF GENSCHER SPEECH: CSCE IS NOT A PANACEA, BUT RATHER A POTENTIALLY USEFUL STEP IN A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH TO DETENTE. IT SERVES TO PROMOTE GERMAN REUNIFICATION BY PROMOTING HUMAN CONTACTS AND RECOGNIZING THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE EXTEND TO BERLIN. CSCE ALSO UNDERLINED NATO'S PARTICIPATION IN DETENTE AND INCREASED, THROUGH THE EC NINE, EUROPEAN SUPPORT FOR THE FRG. END SUMMARY

3. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER DELIVERED THE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT WHICH OPENED THE JULY 25 BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON CSCE. GENSCHER EMPHASIZED THE LIMITED CHARACTER OF CSCE BY POINTING OUT THAT IT IS NOT A TREATY WHICH WILL BE SUBMITTED FOR RATIFICATION. HE SAID THAT CSCE DOES NOT CONFIRM THE STATUS QUO IN EUROPE, DOES NOT ESTABLISH A NEW SECURITY SYSTEM IN EUROPE, WILL NOT LEAD TO IMMEDIATE SPECTACULAR RESULTS, BUT IS A POTENTIALLY USEFUL STEP IN THE GRADUAL PROCESS OF DETENTE.

4. GENSCHER UNDERLINED THE DAMAGE-LIMITING ASPECTS OF CSCE BY EMPHASIZING THAT THE FRG HAD AVOIDED THE CSCE BECOMING A CONFERENCE OVER GERMANY AND BERLIN. HE POINTED TO THE EUROPEAN-WIDE APPLICATION OF THE CONFERENCE (MAKING SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO CBM'S). HE REFERRED SEVERAL TIMES TO THE FACT THAT ALL THE NATIONS WHICH PARTICIPATED IN CSCE, AND ESPECIALLY THE QUADRIPARTITE POWERS, AGREED THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE APPLY THROUGHOUT EUROPE--MEANING BERLIN. HE ALSO REFERRED TO THE EC DECLARATION ON THIS POINT.

5. GENSCHER CLAIMED THAT CSCE, BY FACILITATING HUMAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONTACTS AND INCREASING EAST-WEST INTERACTION, WILL AID IN EVENTUAL GERMAN REUNIFICATION. THE PEACEFUL CHANGE PROVISION MEANS THAT CSCE DOES NOT FORECLOSE EITHER THE GERMAN OR EUROPEAN OPTION.

6. GENSCHER ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT CSCE STRENGTHENS THE ROLE OF THE US AND CANADA IN EUROPE. WHILE NATO CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN A BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE BY

PROVIDING THE SECURITY FOR WESTERN EUROPE, WITHOUT  
WHICH CSCE WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE, ITS ROLE AS AN ACTIVE

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PARTNER IN INCREASING EAST-WEST UNDERSTANDING IS EN-  
HANCED.

7. CSCE FURTHER STRENGTHENED THE FRG'S INTEGRATION WITH  
OTHER WESTERN NATIONS THROUGH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE  
EC NINE, WHICH NOT ONLY BECAME AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN  
DETENTE THROUGH ITS SIGNATURE OF THE CLOSING DOCUMENT,  
BUT ALSO INCREASED ITS SUPPORT OF THE FRG.

8. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT PICKED UP THE THEME OF CSCE'S

ENHANCEMENT OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE FRG IN THE WEST AS THE MAIN TOPIC OF HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEBATE. HE ACCUSED THE CDU/CSU OPPOSITION OF FOLLOWING A POLICY WHICH WOULD ISOLATE THE FRG. REFERRING TO A STATEMENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IN THE OPPOSITION RESOLUTION WHICH CLAIMED THAT THE CSCE IS A DECEPTION IN THE TRUE WORLD SECURITY SITUATION, HE ASKED IF THE OPPOSITION WOULD MAKE THIS STATEMENT TO WILSON, GISCARD AND PRESIDENT FORD--ALL OF WHOM ARE VISITING THE FRG THIS WEEK.

9. WILLY BRANDT, ON THE OTHER HAND, EMPHASIZED THAT CSCE IS A BEGINNING, NOT AN END, AND POINTED TO THE BENEFITS OF THE CONFERENCE. HERE HE REFERRED TO THE POSITIVE EFFECT OF CSCE ON MBFR, SALT AND EAST-WEST TRADE. HE ALSO ALLUDED TO THE INTEREST OF YOUTH IN WIDER EAST-WEST CONTACTS.

10. THE CDU/CSU OPPOSITION ATTACKED CSCE FOR NOT SERVING THE INTERESTS OF THE DIVIDED GERMAN PEOPLE; FOR MAKING MORE DIFFICULT THEIR SELF DETERMINATION; FOR CREATING NEW MATERIAL FOR CONFLICT THROUGH CONTRARY INTERPRETATIONS OF BASIC QUESTIONS--ESPECIALLY FOR GERMANY AND BERLIN; NOT FOR PROMOTING INCREASED CONTACT OF PEOPLE, IDEAS AND INFORMATION; AND FOR SERVING AS A DECEPTION OF THE TRUE WORLD SECURITY SITUATION. WERNER MARX, THE FOREIGN POLICY SPOKESMAN FOR THE OPPOSITION, EXPANDED ON THESE THEMES IN HIS OPENING SPEECH, AS DID CARSTENS AND OTHER OPPOSITION SPEAKERS.

11. MARX MADE THE THRUST OF THE OPPOSITION'S ATTACK CLEAR BY CLAIMING THAT CSCE MADE BERLIN A "GRAY ZONE" INSTEAD OF A TOUCH STONE OF DETENTE. HE DISMISSED THE RESULTS OF BASKET III, CALLING CSCE A FALSE HOPE. HE CLAIMED THAT CSCE SERVED SOVIET INTERESTS BY CONFIRMING THEIR POSITION IN EASTERN EUROPE AND DOING NOTHING FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE. HE ASKED IF THE SOVIET UNION WOULD RESPECT THE PRINCIPLES OF CSCE IN PORTUGAL. HE REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO SPECIFIC PHRASES IN THE TEXT OF THE FINAL ACT, CALLED THEM INSUFFICIENT, AND POINTED TO A BASIC POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE WHICH TRANSCENDS THEIR ACTUAL WORDING. HE SAW LITTLE BENEFIT FROM CSCE FOR MBFR AND OTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST. MARX'S SPEECH BROKE NO NEW GROUND AND WAS REALLY A RESTATEMENT OF CDU/CSU LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FEARS OF DETENTE.

12. COMMENT: THE RESULTS OF THE DEBATE WERE EXPECTED  
AND SURPRISED NO ONE. THEIR CHIEF EFFECT WAS TO POINT  
OUT AGAIN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CSCE FOR GERMANY AS A  
WHOLE AND AS A CONTINUING DOMESTIC POLITICAL QUESTION  
IN THE FRG. END COMMENT.  
HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

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**Copy:** SINGLE  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**To:** STATE  
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